

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 37168 01 OF 02 211644Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 /059 W  
-----116830 211802Z /43

R 211632Z DEC 77  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3416  
INFO AMCONSUL BORDEAUX  
AMCONSUL LYON  
AMCONSUL MARSEILLE  
AMCONSUL NICE  
AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 37168

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, FR  
SUBJECT: A GAULLIST VIEW OF THE MAJORITY

SUMMARY. THE GISCARD - CHIRAC MEETING OF TWO WEEKS  
AGO HAS FAILED TO HEAL THE RIFT IN THE MAJORITY. THAT,  
AT ANY RATE, IS THE VIEW OF ALAIN JUPPE, THE 32-YEAR-  
OLD ONE-MAN THINK-TANK FOR JACQUES CHIRAC AND THE RPR.  
JUPPE IS ALSO HIS PARTY'S MARCH CANDIDATE IN THE LANDES,  
SOUTH OF BORDEAUX, AGAINST THE SOCIALIST INCUMBENT.  
HE COMBINES PARISIAN INTELLECTUALISM, TECHNOCRACY AND  
BIG PARTY BRAINSTORMING WITH A DOWN-HOME TOUCH AND  
INTEREST IN HIS DEPARTMENT, WHERE HE CAMPAIGNS 5 DAYS  
A WEEK. DESPITE THE MAJORITY'S AGREED MANIFESTO OF LAST  
SEPTEMBER, THE BREAK-UP OF THE LEFT AND THE GISCARD -  
CHIRAC MEETING OF DECEMBER 7, JUPPE IS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT  
MARCH -- BOTH FOR HIS PARTY AND FOR THE MAJORITY. THE  
POLLS HAVE SHOWN, HE SAYS, THAT THE MAJORITY HAS NOT  
BENEFITTED FROM THE LEFT'S SPLIT, AND, EQUALLY DISTUR-  
BING, SIGNS KEEP SURFACING TO SHOW THAT GISCARD HAS NOT  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 37168 01 OF 02 211644Z

CHANGED ONE BIT HIS PLAN TO GOVERN EVENTUALLY WITH THE  
MODERATE LEFT. JUPPE'S VIEWS, SUMMARIZED BELOW, ARE  
INTERESTING BECAUSE HE IS LISTENED TO BY CHIRAC AND  
PROBABLY REFLECTS HIS VIEWS (PARIS 36386). HE TYPIFIES  
AND BETRAYS MANY OF THE SAME SUSPICIONS OF GISCARD HELD  
BY THE OTHER 400-ODD RPR CANDIDATES. END SUMMARY.

1. RPR PESSIMISM: SEVERAL RECENT EVENTS ARE TROUBLING FOR THE RPR. REPUBLICAN PARTY PRESIDENT SOISSON THIS WEEK CALLED FOR LIMITING MAJORITY CANDIDATES TO TWO IN CIRCUMSCRIPTIONS WHERE MULTIPLE CANDIDACIES THREATEN MAJORITY CHANCES (NO CANDIDATE GETTING THE 12.5 PERCENT NECESSARY TO GET INTO THE SECOND ROUND) -- IN EFFECT AN INVITATION TO NON-RPR MAJORITY CANDIDATES TO GANG UP ON THE RPR. SOISSON ALSO CALLED FOR THE PRIME MINISTER TO ARBITRATE DIFFICULT CASES, THUS CONJURING UP MEMORIES OF THE RACE FOR MAYOR OF PARIS LAST MARCH WHEN BARRE "ARBITRATED" IN FAVOR OF THE LOSING CANDIDATE D'ORNANO. GISCARD'S SPEECH AT VASSY LAST WEEK (PARIS 36947) DID NOT COMMIT THE PRESIDENT ONE WAY OR ANOTHER IN THE CAMPAIGN. HE CONTINUES, ACCORDING TO JUPPE, TO MAKE VAGUE APPEALS TO WORK WITH THE SOCIALISTS, MAKE PRO-FORMA APPEALS FOR UNITY IN THE MAJORITY, AND MAINLY PROTECT HIS OWN ROLE FOR THE POST-ELECTION PERIOD. MOST DISTURBING IS THE LACK OF SUCCESS OF THE BARRE PLAN AND THE ABSENCE OF THE PRIME MINISTER FROM THE POLITICAL SCENE. "EVEN IF INFLATION GOES DOWN TO .7 PERCENT A MONTH BETWEEN NOW AND THE MARCH ELECTIONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT DROPS BELOW ONE MILLION, IT'S STILL A FAILURE. IT'S TOO LATE NOW", JUPPE CONCLUDED.

2. NOT ALL IS HOPELESS: THE ONLY WAY TO PULL THE MAJORITY OUT OF ITS 46 PERCENT SLUMP IS, ACCORDING TO CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PARIS 37168 01 OF 02 211644Z

THIS RPR STALWART, FOR THE RPR TO OFFER THE COUNTRY A CLEAR CHOICE BETWEEN THE SOCIALISM OF THE LEFT AND A LIBERAL REFORMIST ALTERNATIVE WHICH WORKS. THIS INVOLVES ADOPTING SEVERAL KEY RPR PROPOSALS SUCH AS ACCELERATING THE ECONOMY THROUGH SELECTIVE INVESTMENT INCENTIVES, ATTACKING UNEMPLOYMENT ON A REGIONAL BASIS, TAX REFORMS AND INCREASED POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL. THE PRIME MINISTER CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THIS EFFORT ALSO, JUPPE CONCEDED. BARRE'S ACTION OBJECTIVES, SCHEDULED TO BE ANNOUNCED JANUARY 7, SHOULD EMPHASIZE A FEW CATCHY CENTRAL THEMES (EXAMPLES: CORPORATE REFORM, REGIONALISM AND LOCAL AUTONOMY, FISCAL REFORM) RATHER THAN JUST ADD ANOTHER LENGTHY PROGRAM TO THOSE ALREADY PRESENTED BY EVERY OTHER PARTY. THE PRESIDENT ALSO, DESPITE RPR SUSPICIONS, COULD CONTRIBUTE TO A MAJORITY VICTORY BY THROWING HIMSELF INTO THE CAMPAIGN, OFFERING THE PEOPLE A CLEAR-CUT CHOICE AND UNAMBIGUOUSLY INDICATING HIS CHOICE -- BUT JUPPE THINKS THE ODDS ARE AGAINST SUCH A COURSE OF ACTION BY GISCARD. IN SUM, JUPPE SEES THE MAJORITY'S CHANCES AS LESS THAN EVEN BECAUSE OF GISCARD'S VACILLATION, BARRE'S LOW POPULARITY, AND CONTINUING RIVALRIES AMONG THE MAJORITY PAR-

TIES, BUT HE STILL SEES A FIGHTING CHANCE THAT CHIRAC'S

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 37168 02 OF 02 211657Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 /059 W  
-----116909 211802Z /43

R 211632Z DEC 77  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3417  
INFO AMCONSUL BORDEAUX  
AMCONSUL LYON  
AMCONSUL MARSEILLE  
AMCONSUL NICE  
AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 37168

DYNAMISM AND RPR GRASS ROOTS MILITANCY WILL SAVE THE  
DAY.

3. FOR THE RPR, THE LEFT REMAINS A FORMIDABLE OPPONENT.  
THE PS REMAINS IDEOLOGICALLY COHERENT, ITS BASE REMAINS  
GENERALLY COMMITTED TO UNITY WITH THE PCF, AND ITS PER-  
CENTAGE OF THE ELECTORATE REMAINS STABLE. WHAT IT HAS  
LOST ON ITS LEFT TO THE PCF, IT SEEMS TO HAVE GAINED ON  
ITS RIGHT, AT THE EXPENSE OF THE CENTER. SINCE THE  
SEPTEMBER SPLIT WITH THE PCF, IT IS SUCCEEDING, ACCORD-  
ING TO JUPPE, IN ITS ATTEMPT TO CONVEY AN IMAGE OF A  
MODERATE REFORMIST PARTY WHICH WOULD NOT INTRODUCE REVO-  
LUTION AND WHICH COULD WORK WITH GISCARD. PART OF THE  
PS' APPEAL, JUPPE CONTINUED, WAS DUE TO THE CONFIDENCE  
MOST FRENCHMEN HAVE THAT THE PARTY IS NOT REALLY SER-  
IOUS ABOUT THE MORE RADICAL ASPECTS OF ITS PROGRAM AND  
WOULD NOT IMPLEMENT IT FULLY ONCE IN POWER. IT IS THE  
RPR'S TASK TO BREAK THIS TACIT COLLUSION BETWEEN GIS-  
CARD AND THE PS AND DRIVE HOME TO THE ELECTORATE THAT  
THE PS IS A NEW, TRANSFORMED PARTY WITH LITTLE IN COM-  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 37168 02 OF 02 211657Z

MON WITH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE.

4. THE OVERALL IMPRESSION IN RPR CIRCLES IS ONE OF PESSIMISM -- OVER THE ECONOMIC PICTURE AS MUCH AS THE POLITICAL SITUATION. TIME SEEMS TO BE RUNNING AGAINST THE MAJORITY, IN THE RPR MIND, WHILE GISCARD AND BARRE BIDE THEIR TIME IN DECIDING WHAT TO DO NEXT, AND WHEN. THE GAULLISTS CONSIDER THEMSELVES THE ONLY BULWARK AGAINST THE LEFT TIDE. THEY HAVE NOT YET ENTIRELY RULED OUT HELP FROM THE PRESIDENT, PRIME MINISTER AND OTHER MAJORITY PARTIES, BUT BELIEVE THAT, EVEN WITH THEIR HELP, VICTORY WILL AT BEST BE SNATCHED OUT OF THE LEFT'S HANDS AT THE LAST MINUTE AND BY THE NARROWEST OF MARGINS. THE EFFECT OF DIVISIONS IN THE LEFT ON THE SECOND ROUND VOTE IN MARCH COULD, OF COURSE, HELP THE MAJORITY, BUT FOR THE GAULLISTS, WHO ARE NOT IN THE HABIT OF RELYING ON THE MISTAKES OF OTHERS FOR THEIR SUCCESSES, THIS IS A WEAK REED TO CLING TO.  
HARTMAN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** MEETINGS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 21-Dec-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977PARIS37168  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770476-0175  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** PARIS  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19771231/aaaabacu.tel  
**Line Count:** 193  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** a12716ff-c188-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 03-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 159001  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** A GAULLIST VIEW OF THE MAJORITY SUMMARY. THE GISCARD - CHIRAC MEETING OF TWO WEEKS AGO HAS FAILED TO HEAL THE RIFT IN THE MAJORITY.  
**TAGS:** PINT, FR  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/a12716ff-c188-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009